

FYI

WEEKEND READING FOR THE PRESIDENT

27-28 December 1969

Contents

ON-FILE NSC
RELEASE
INSTRUCTIONS
APPLY

USSR

1. "Mostly He Just Sits," The Economist, December 20, 1969.

A bit of editorial speculation on the future of Brezhnev's Russia, prompted by the first publication in the West of an essay by a young dissident Soviet intellectual, Andrei Amalrik. While Brezhnev tries to sit on a situation of economic stagnation, political demoralization, and minority unrest, Amalrik predicts the disintegration of the Soviet state and expects it to happen by 1984. He believes that a protracted war with China is in prospect, and will set off a rapid disintegration in the same way that the Russo-Japanese war stimulated the 1905 revolt and World War I stimulated the 1917 revolution.

WEST GERMANY

2. "Germany's Changing Role: Interview with Chancellor Willy Brandt," U. S. News & World Report, December 29, 1969.

A useful statement of Brandt's views on major issues. Brandt expects that the troop-level situation in Europe will undoubtedly look very different 10 years from now, but he also points out that prospects for balanced force reductions in the next few years would be endangered by "premature unilateral moves by the United States or anyone else" before serious East-West negotiations begin. He defends his policy of "normalization" with the East, and declares that he hopes for some form of "union" between the two Germanies which would not necessarily be on the model of a unified nation-state. Brandt states that his vision of a united Europe is closer to deGaulle's "union of fatherlands" than to a federal "United States of Europe."

MILITARY POLICY

3. Graham Allison, Ernest May, and Adam Yarmolinsky, "Limits to Intervention," Foreign Affairs, January 1970.

Three Harvard professors attempt to lay out some concrete guidelines for American military intervention in the 70's. They note that "the outline of

a tentative doctrine" emerged in your Guam statement, and they offer their guidelines as "suggestions" to those in Government who are laboring to spell out the Guam Doctrine's precise implications. An intelligent analysis, which is definitely worth reading.

The authors recommend:

- (1) a presumption that the U.S. will intervene on behalf of an ally which is a victim of overt aggression;
- (2) a presumption against U.S. intervention in the case of overt aggression against a non-ally;
- (3) a strong presumption against U.S. intervention in cases of internal disorder and/or subversion.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

4. Sanford J. Ungar, "Rhodesian Issue Looming Up Again,"
The Washington Post, December 23, 1969.

The United States soon will face "one of the most unusual and difficult diplomatic dilemmas of this century: whether or not to recognize the independent republic of Rhodesia." The author outlines the arguments for and against recognition and points out "middle courses" such as exemptions from sanctions to permit import of vital materials from Rhodesia, and use of an "interests section" in the Embassy of another country in Rhodesia or the U.S. Embassy in South Africa to serve the American community. Because views on both sides of the question are so strongly held, he states, planning for the decision on recognition should start now.

VIETNAM

5. George W. Ball, "We Should De-escalate the Importance of Vietnam," N. Y. Times Magazine, December 21, 1969.

Ball endorses the Vietnamization plan as "the only responsible course of action still available," but he deems it "prudent" to "take candid note" of the hazards that remain in U.S. Vietnam policy. These hazards are:

the incentives that Hanoi now has to persist; the increasingly vulnerable position of the Saigon Government; and the likelihood that the American public's impatience will mount again, as our withdrawal plan seems to confirm the futility of the fighting that continues. Since the success of our plan is uncertain, Ball urges that we prepare the political ground to mitigate the costs of failure: We should try to deflate the general appraisal of the importance of what happens in Vietnam, by making clear that we fulfilled our obligation but that the South Vietnamese Government never met those standards which were the essential condition for U.S. assistance.

MIDDLE EAST

6. (a) Don Peretz, "Arab Palestine: Phoenix or Phantom?"
Foreign Affairs, January 1970.

(b) "Moscow and the Fedayeen," CIA Intelligence Memorandum,
December 19, 1969.

Don Peretz, a British Middle East scholar, traces the origins, development and current role of the Palestinian movement. He concludes that it would be in the interest of all parties concerned if the Palestinians had a recognized voice in the peace negotiations. The CIA memorandum briefly reviews the gradual shift in Soviet attitudes toward the fedayeen, from hostility to support. It also assesses how this development relates to Soviet policy on a political settlement in the Middle East.

TECHNOLOGY AND THE ENVIRONMENT

7. Lord Ritchie-Calder, "Mortgaging the Old Homestead,"
Foreign Affairs, January 1970.

The author is a former professor of international relations at Edinburgh, and is a participant in UN missions and committees on scientific affairs. This article is a powerful plea to halt man's inadvertent or reckless destruction of the environment. He has an impressive catalogue of horrors -- several instances, past and present, of stupid and unthinking technological and military activities which pose increasing dangers to plant, animal, and human life: H-bomb testing, atomic waste disposal, leaking oil tankers, industrial pollution of air and water, overpopulation, and others.

FOR H. A. K.

THE AMERICAN LEFT

8. Seymour Martin Lipset, "The Socialism of Fools: The Left, the Jews, and Israel," Encounter, December 1969.

An illuminating discussion of the anti-Zionist theme in the ideology of the contemporary American left, and its implications for the position of the Jews in American liberal politics. Lipset sees the American Jewish community splitting into the same constituent parts that divide the American electorate as a whole: American Jewish radicals, espousing the causes of the New Left and Black Nationalists, slide into a particularly virulent form of anti-Zionism because of their identification of Israel with the American establishment. At the same time, a kind of backlash is occurring among other American Jews who remain more identified with Israel and Zionism as a reaction to the attacks on Jews and Israel coming from the left and black militants. Jewish liberals who would like to remain both socialist and Zionist, Lipset concludes, will find life increasingly difficult.